WORLD SURVEY

THE RED ARMY'S GREAT EXAMPLE

THE NAZI IMPERIALISTS' NATIONAL MASK

PETER WIEDEN

THE MORALE OF THE GERMAN REAR AND THE GERMAN ARMY

M. MITIN

THE SPECTRE OF DEFEAT HAUNTS HITLER GERMANY

E. GEREY

STERLING SONS OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

ANDRE MARTY

[Number 6] 20 CENTS

JUST PUBLISHED

History of Legislation for the Protection of Coal Miners in Pennsylvania, by Alexander Trachtenberg **$2.00**

A comprehensive study of the history of the development of labor legislation in the biggest coal-producing state in the Union, which throws invaluable light on problems of wages and working conditions, health and safety appliances, child labor, industrial hazards, etc., in one of America's key industries. With an introduction by Prof. Henry W. Farnham, late President of the American Association for Labor Legislation.

William Sylvis and the National Labor Union, by Charlotte Todes . . . . . Paper **$.25,** Cloth **$.75**

Thomas Paine: Selections, with an introduction by James S. Allen . . . . . Paper **$.25,** Cloth **.75**

Harriet Tubman: Negro Soldier and Abolitionist, by Earl Conrad . . . . . **.15**

Thaddeus Stevens, by Elizabeth Lawson . . . . . **.10**

Outline History of the American Negro People 1619-1918, by Elizabeth Lawson . . . . . **.50**

●

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D (832 Broadway), New York, N. Y.

WORLD SURVEY

A PERIODICAL REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

The Red Army's Great Example 3

The Nazi Imperialists' National Mask . . *Peter Wieden* . . 11

The Spectre of Defeat Haunts Hitler Germany . *E. Gerey* . . . 23

Sterling Sons of the French People . . . *Andre Marty* . . 31

The Morale of the German Rear and the German Army . . . . . *M. Mitin* . . . 37

The New Stage in the National Liberation Struggle of the Czech People . . . *Milos Skala* . . 41

Workers Library Publishers, Inc., 832 Broadway (P. O. Box 148, Station D), N. Y. C.

Published April, 1942

(NO. 6)

109

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet People at War, by Alvah Bessie . . . . . **$.10**

The author of **Men in Battle** and **Bread and a Stone** describes how the united Soviet people are waging all-out war against the invaders of their country.

The Soviets Expected it, by Anna Louise Strong . . . . **.35**

Over thirty thousand copies of this best-seller have been sold. It now appears in a new low-priced edition with a newly-written final chapter which brings it right up to the minute.

The Molotov Paper on Nazi Atrocities . . . . . **.05**

Text of the note handed by Foreign Commissar of the U.S.S.R., V. M. Molotov, to representatives of all countries with whom the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations, describing crimes perpetrated by the Nazis in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union.

Earl Browder on the Soviet Union . . . . . **.05**

Extracts from the writings and speeches of the General Secretary of the Communist Party, showing his great vision and leadership in forging Soviet-American collaboration.

The Soviet Power, by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury **.35**

A brilliant study of the political, economic and social system of the Soviet Union, and its epochal achievements in all spheres of human endeavor. Acclaimed as one of the greatest books of this century.

●

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D (832 Broadway), New York, N. Y.

THE RED ARMY'S GREAT EXAMPLE

THE Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the Red Army was celebrated not only by the peoples of the Soviet Union. Freedom-loving nations the world over paid tribute to the Soviet Union's mighty army on that day. Never before have the name of the Red Army and its leader, Stalin, been pronounced with such admiration and love as today. Never before have such hopes been placed in the Red Army, nor so many ardent greetings from all parts of the world been addressed to it as this year, in connection with its twenty-fourth anniversary. And never have the peoples of those countries which are enslaved and oppressed by Hitler Germany, who could not openly send greetings to Moscow, centered their thoughts and hopes on the Red Army as they do now. The cause of this is evident. The Red Army was the first to shatter the myth of Nazi invincibility. It was the first to build that impregnable barrier that upset all the conquest plans of German imperialism. By its heroic deeds it has given courage to millions, has proven to them the inevitability of Hitler Germany's defeat and is thereby holding out a real perspective of liberation of all the peoples now subjugated by Hitler.

The great deeds of the Red Army are best judged by comparing the Hitler army prior to June 22 of last year, when it launched its brazen and foul attack on the Soviet people, with the Hitler army today after eight months of war against the U.S.S.R.

Prior to their attack on the land of Soviets, the Nazi hordes, armed to the teeth and shielded by heavy armor, overran Europe, marching from victory to victory and preceded by the legend of their invincibility. In this manner, eleven European countries were seized and enslaved by Hitler Germany.

West of the Soviet Union's frontiers, Hitler controlled the vast resources of manpower and material of almost all Europe. All this was harnessed to his powerful war machine. The colonization of Europe and world domination were goals set by avid Hitler Germany. Moreover, very many in Europe regarded the fulfillment of these mad Hitler plans not only as feasible but as very probable. In Germany in particular this belief found many adherents. Under these conditions Hitler, steeped in his imperialist gamble and drunk with easy victory, ordered the piratical and treacherous attack on the Soviet Union. His calculation was thus to remove the chief obstacle in his path to world domination. Should he score a victory, he thought,

there would be no force in the world capable of hampering his rabid plans. His morbid imagination was conjuring up pictures of a triumphant march in two months across Russia to the Urals. And again there were no few timid souls in the world who believed in this.

The perfidious and sudden attack on the Soviet Union brought the Hitler army some initial but temporary success. The Red Army was compelled to withdraw. The Nazi bandits captured several Soviet districts. The Berlin radio announced, to the accompaniment of incessant fanfares and the beating of drums, through Goebbels' propaganda machine, that the Red Army was "destroyed," that its "last reserves were exhausted." But in actual fact the first weeks of the Soviet-German war showed that Germany had played and lost her strategic trump card—the vaunted blitzkrieg tactics. Hitler's strategy, which brought him victory over all adversaries in Europe, met with dismal failure when applied in the Soviet Union.

True, the Red Army was withdrawing, but in doing so it dealt blows against the foe causing him colossal losses, harassing and wearing down his forces and preparing the way for his ultimate defeat. Hitler's hordes found nothing on captured Soviet territories. Factory equipment, stocks of raw material and food were evacuated in good time. All Hitler's hopes of fifth-column activities in the U.S.S.R. were doomed. Quite the contrary: Temporary reverses only served to strengthen still more the fraternity among the Soviet peoples and to unite the front and rear around the Soviet government headed by Stalin. Meanwhile, in the rear of the German army, throughout the length and breadth of the occupied Soviet lands, there was raging a guerrilla warfare unprecedented in scale and vigor. The ground was beginning to burn under the feet of the German invaders.

From the very outset of his war against the U.S.S.R. Hitler found his charlatan attempt of politically isolating the Soviet Union come to naught. What happened was the opposite of what he had expected. It was Hitler Germany that found itself isolated. It became increasingly clear that in the East Hitler had plunged into a difficult and dangerous war, which he could never hope to win. Hitler made an attempt to avert this fatal turn in the development of the war by one more adventurous drive. On October 2, 1941, Hitler braggingly announced "the greatest offensive in ages," for which he had prepared everything within human power. According to Hitler, this drive would bring him victory before the winter set in. On October 9 Hitler's press chief, Dietrich, told the world that the goal had already been reached and Germany had already scored a victory. Only this trifle remained: "to consolidate the victory." Hitler's hordes were "consolidating" themselves at the approaches to the Caucasus, they were threatening Leningrad and with mad fury were pushing on to Moscow. The Nazi braggart screamed to the world that

no force could now stop Hitler's army.

But at this point the calm and courageous words of Stalin in his speech of November 7, on the 24th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, came like a cold shower on the Hitler hotheads.

"The enemy is not as strong as some terror-stricken would-be intellectuals picture him. The devil is not as terrible as he is painted. Who can deny that our Red Army has more than once put the much-lauded German troops to panicky flight?

"If one judges by Germany's real position and not by the boastful assertions of German propagandists, it will not be difficult to see that the Nazi German invaders are facing disaster.

"Hunger and poverty reign in Germany. In four and a half months of war Germany has lost four and a half million soldiers. Germany is bleeding white; her manpower is giving out. A spirit of revolt is gaining possession not only of the nations of Europe under the German invaders' yoke, but of the Germans themselves, who see no end to the war.

"The German invaders are straining their last forces. There is no doubt that Germany cannot keep up such an effort for any long time. Another few months, another half year, one year perhaps—and Hitlerite Germany must collapse under the weight of its own crimes."

Less than two months elapsed after these words were uttered and the enemy was hurled back from Rostov. Staggering blows were inflicted on the German hordes at Moscow. The Red Army, having worn down the Nazi forces, went over from active defense to counter-offensive on key sections of the front. By its mighty blows it forced the enemy back. The tide had turned in favor of the Soviet Union and against Hitler Germany.

In the months of war against the Soviet Union fundamental changes have taken place in the position of Hitler Germany. In the military respect Germany has taken the defensive on the Soviet-German front, the chief front of the present war. Hitler's armies, which had made the world shudder, are well battered and their invincibility gone forever.

On the international scene Hitler Germany is isolated. Ranged against it is a world coalition of states and peoples headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and America.

Economically, Hitler Germany, which had robbed the whole of enslaved Europe, is more than ever suffering from exhaustion of manpower and material reserves.

Within Germany proper confidence in victory is shaken at the very foundation and Hitler's rear is substantially weakened. The nations oppressed by Hitler Germany have raised their heads, for German reverses and the oncoming German defeat bring nearer the hour of their liberation.

Eight months ago Hitler Germany was at the zenith of its military successes. Today its cause is descending with irresistible force. This turn was brought about by

the Red Army in a single-handed war against the Nazi army, which receives military support from Italy, Rumania, Finland and the other Nazi satellites.

Millions of people throughout the world are today asking themselves: What is the secret of the Red Army's strength? How could it alone not only hold out against this onslaught of the fascist hordes but snatch the initiative from them despite the advantages gained by them as a result of the perfidious attack on the U.S.S.R.

In his historical order of the day on February 23 Stalin said:

"The Red Army's strength lies, above all, in the fact that it is not waging a predatory, imperialist war, but a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war."

Can the Nazi army which Hitler has driven to conquer the Soviet lands say the same? The purpose of this fascist army is to enslave the free Soviet people, to take away factories and mills built by the peoples themselves, loot their collective farms, saddle German industrialists and landlords on the Soviet people and impose Hitler's savage rule on the free peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Nazi army is fighting to destroy in the Soviet land everything of which the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and other nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R. are justly proud. The Nazi army is out to destroy their national culture, their language, their museums, to defile their homes and desecrate the graves of their forefathers. It would indeed be an insult to Genghis Khan if we were to compare with the Tatar invasion what the Hitler hordes are doing in the temporarily occupied territory of Soviet districts.

They torture war prisoners and wounded Red Armymen, erect scaffolds, loot the civilian population, insult women, burn Russian towns and villages as they retreat and drive ill-clad Soviet men, women and children through winter colds to sure doom and death of torture.

"The Red Army's task," Stalin says, "is to free our Soviet territory from the German invaders, to free from the yoke of the German invaders the residents of our villages and towns, who were free and lived like human beings before the war and now are oppressed and suffer pillage, ruin and famine, and lastly to free our women from the disgrace and outrages to which they are subjected by the German fascist fiends. What could be nobler and loftier than this task?"

Realization of the great and lofty task confronting the Red Army multiplies tenfold the strength of its men. What seemed beyond human feasibility is being performed every day by the men, commanders and political workers of the Red Army as part of their grim day's work. Long marches up to their waists in snow, advances across treacherous marshes, sudden attacks behind the enemy lines, bold attacks by a dozen Red Armymen on a whole German garrison—these are everyday events in the Red Army.

The enemy still possesses an abundance of war machines. But

the modern war machines in the hands of the Red Army are much more effective, for they are being operated by Soviet men fully conscious of the noble and lofty aims of their just war. This explains why the reverses in the first months of the war did not break the morale of the Red Army, but, on the contrary, steeled it and evoked a passionate and indomitable will to victory, whereas the present defeat of the Nazi hordes demoralizes the Hitler army and with every day undermines its faith in victory.

This strength of the Red Army, fighting for a just cause, is expressed in the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, in the indissoluble alliance of the working class and the collective farm peasantry, in the fraternal friendship of the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. It is that great strength with which the Nazi generals failed to reckon in their villainous plans of war against the U.S.S.R. Narrow-minded professional soldiers that they are, they regarded the war against the U.S.S.R. as only a military and technical problem, ignoring the social and political aspect of the patriotic and just war of the Soviet people defending their country against an invader. And the Nazi army will pay for this miscalculation by its inevitable and final defeat.

The Red Army's strength consists further in the iron might of its rear, in its profound and intimate contact with the people. The war is being waged not only by the Red Army; the whole people are fighting for victory. The great military successes achieved by the Red Army, which is now driving the German hordes westward, serve to bring into being fresh guerrilla detachments behind the German lines. On the other hand there are millions of Soviet working men and working women who are working for victory behind the Soviet lines. Millions of metal workers, oil workers, miners and railwaymen are every day performing miracles on the labor front. Old men, youngsters and women on collective farms are working for victory by preparing for spring sowing so that the Red Army might be well supplied with food.

With firm courage the Soviet people endure temporary privations caused by the war, knowing that these privations are much more terrible for the population of the occupied districts. Everything for the front, everything for victory—this is the slogan that has become part and parcel of Soviet life.

The German rear presents quite a different picture. Behind the German armies is an unreliable rear torn asunder by class contradictions which the fascist terror drives deep below the surface. This rear is being undermined by antagonisms inherent in the fascist regime—antagonisms between the privileged gang of fascist bosses and the German people. It is being undermined lastly by the hatred for the Prussians by the Austrians and Sudeten Germans. Behind the German lines there is growing dissatisfaction with Hitler's war, the end of which the German population cannot yet see.

Feeling the earth burning under its feet the Hitler gang tries to frighten 80,000,000 Germans by claiming that defeat of Hitler would signify the extermination of the German population and the destruction of the German state.

"History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain," Stalin pointed out. And this means that Hitler's fate is not the fate of the German people, for the Hitler clique is not Germany. The defeat of that clique would not spell defeat for Germany. Hitler's defeat is indeed a condition for making easier the German people's struggle to overthrow the Hitler tyranny.

The German people are beginning to understand that Hitler has brought Germany to a catastrophe, the only way out of which is the overthrow of Hitler's power.

Stalin said:

"...The strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that it does not and cannot entertain racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people, that it has been brought up in the spirit of the equality of all peoples and races, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples."

It was these lofty and noble Leninist and Stalinist ideals which guided the training of the Red Army. And precisely because it respects the rights of other nations as it respects the rights of its own people, is it ruthlessly exterminating the bestial Nazi invaders who so cynically and brutally are trampling on the rights of all peoples. The Red Army annihilates them not because they are Germans, but because they want to enslave the Soviet country. But any German soldier who lays down his arms and refuses to fight for Hitler's evil plans of enslaving the Soviet land thereby averts retribution.

"The Red Army," Stalin says, "takes German soldiers and officers prisoner if they surrender, and spares their lives. The Red Army annihilates German soldiers and officers if they refuse to lay down their arms and when they attempt, arms in hand, to enslave our motherland."

Such are the successes and such are the causes of these successes and the sources of the Red Army's strength. These explain why the Red Army enjoys the support of all freedom-loving peoples the world over. Today there is not a single nation which is interested in strengthening Hitler Germany, Hitler's regime or Hitler's war machine. On the contrary, all the peoples enslaved by Hitler Germany, all the peoples who live in peril of Hitler's invasion as well as those who have been forced by their rulers to fight on Hitler's side, are vitally interested in crushing Nazi imperialism. This debacle of Nazi imperialism is a guarantee for the independence of states and the freedom of their peoples. That is why the Red Army has so many friends throughout the world, that is why it wins so much sympathy in its struggle, that is why its success evokes so much joy and its feats such admiration among the

people everywhere. This profound sympathy of the peoples fortifies the Red Army in its sacred struggle and it continues to carry out its duty with honor.

But from this follows that the people of other countries must with similar steadfastness and self-sacrifice carry out their duty too. In order to develop a real mass struggle against Hitlerism in every country it is necessary to overcome the spirit of passive waiting, of orientation on a line of "least resistance" which will only hamper the development of the anti-fascist movement. The war against Hitler fascism is a life-and-death struggle and it requires effective and vigorous means and methods. Every method should be used to bring Hitler's war plants to a standstill—such is the duty of all fighters in the anti-Hitler front.

Some still try to justify their passivity by pointing to the brutal terror established by the Hitlerites everywhere. But references to terror are not valid. Sabotage and action against the occupation forces, and partisan warfare, have achieved the highest point and assumed the greatest scope in the temporarily captured districts of the Soviet Union, which are the scenes of the most brutal and furious and bloody terror. Some still think that in the densely populated European countries guerrilla warfare is impossible. But this is wrong. The guerrilla movement is war behind the enemy lines. Forms of this war can vary in accordance with concrete conditions and traditions in the country concerned.

But in every country behind Hitler's lines this sacred liberation war can be waged. History shows that guerrilla war has always been the traditional form of mass struggle against foreign invaders. Guerrilla war was waged by the Dutch Geuzen, against Spanish domination, by the Spanish guerrillas against Napoleon, by the Czech Taborites, Hungarian Kuruc, German Freischars and French franc tireurs. The source of the magnificent popular guerrilla warfare movement now developing on the temporarily occupied territory of the U.S.S.R. should be sought, not in the dense forests and vast stretches of the country, but in the indomitable fighting spirit of the people, which does not want to be and never will be slaves. Guerrilla warfare can successfully be waged and is being waged by Soviet partisans in small and large forests, in forestless plains and marshes as well as in densely populated centers like Kharkov and the industrial Donbas.

It is being waged by heroic fighters in Yugoslavia, in the mountainous districts of Bosnia, Herzegovina Montenegro and in hilly Dalmatia.

Neither sabotage nor guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines can develop of themselves, spontaneously. In order that sabotage and guerrilla warfare attain dimension, tenacity and scope, their development must be influenced by the progressive anti-fascist elements and their organizations. This in turn requires that these organizations be resurrected everywhere that they were destroyed by the

enemy, that they grow and develop every day and become the soul and driving force of the struggle against occupation.

The date of the collapse of Hitler's domination and the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Nazi Germany depends to a great extent upon how the peoples by their own active struggle against occupation help the Red Army disrupt the Nazi's spring offensive and rout the common foe. Never before were conditions so favorable for a determined joint action of the peoples against the occupation forces as they are today, when the Hitler hordes are suffering serious defeat at the hands of the Red Army and when the Hitlerites are desperately rounding up all their reserves to hurl them into action on the Soviet-German front.

With every bit of bravery and determination this favorable situation must be used to deal a blow at the enemy—such is the urgent task of the peoples fighting for their liberation from the hated Hitler yoke. The glorious road traversed by the Red Army from the day it came into being teaches the peoples this supreme lesson, as do the immortal feats of the Red Army fighters and Soviet guerrillas in this great patriotic war.

THE NAZI IMPERIALISTS' NATIONAL MASK

BY P. WIEDEN

ADOLF HITLER and his gang of murderers, incendiaries and highway robbers call themselves "National-Socialists." They dare to speak in the name of the German nation and hope to justify their crimes by asserting that they, the German fascists, serve the interests of Germany while the misdeeds they commit correspond to the interests of the German people. But is it true that these executioners, these enemies of humanity, are inspired by the desire to serve the German nation? Is it true that all their atrocities, perfidy and cowardly murders are dictated by motives of national interest? Is it true that their policy of subjugating other nations and of war without end is a national policy? Stalin, in his historic speech of November 6, gave a clear and castigating reply. He said:

"Can the Hitlerites be considered nationalists? Actually, the Hitlerites today are not nationalists but imperialists. While the Hitlerites were uniting German lands and incorporating the Rhine region, Austria, etc., they could in a certain sense be considered nationalists. But after they captured foreign territories and enslaved European nations—the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Serbs, Greeks, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and the Baltic peoples, etc.—and began to drive for world domination, the Hitler party ceased to be nationalist, for from that moment it became a party of imperialism, conquest and oppression."

Hitler's whole policy is one long chain of crimes which tend to push the German nation ever nearer to an abyss. But how could it come about that this path of the German fascists, this policy of national suicide was not curbed by popular insurrection? How could it happen that over a course of years this policy met with the support of considerable sections of Germany's population? Hitler understood that the strongest and most dangerous poison had to be used to stun and envenom the German nation. He himself defined the aim of his agitation as "helping to make them die." The poison which he first of all used against the German nation was lies about Versailles, lies about *lebensraum* and lies about racial superiority.

It was Soviet Russia which from the very first day took a stand against Versailles, and not Italy and Japan, who bear the full share of

responsibility for the Versailles Treaty.

In all countries the Communists waged a tenacious and persistent struggle against the Versailles Treaty. The Communists branded the Versailles Treaty as violence against the right of nations to self-determination.

The German fascists denounced Versailles not out of any principle. In their view the mistake was only that it was not Germany which imposed on other nations such a peace treaty but that other nations dictated it to Germany. In that vile book of his, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler already said that it was not at all a question of repealing the Versailles Treaty but of continuing the World War, conquering new territories, making Germany the master of Europe, converting her into the sole military force on the continent. Hitler and his party were out to use the German people's national indignation against the Versailles Treaty to prepare a predatory imperialist war of conquest.

Lies about the Versailles Treaty spread by the whole German reaction and primarily by Hitler and his gang were built up on the most brazen forgery of historic truth. The Hitlerites maintained that Germany's national catastrophe began only in November, 1918. But is that true? No, it is a lie. Germany's national catastrophe began on the day when the German imperialists took to arms in order to force a new redivision of the world. The war in itself was a national catastrophe, a senseless squandering of the wealth and blood of the German nation. And this catastrophe was carried to the extreme when Germany's rulers continued to wage the war though it was clearly lost.

With America's entry into the war Germany had not the slightest chance to emerge victorious from this gigantic clash. The adventurist attempt to "hold on at any price" was the worst crime that could be committed against the German nation and could end only in capitulation at any price. The German imperialists themselves took up the old battle-cry "Woe to the vanquished." At Brest-Litovsk they showed what they regarded as a victorious peace. And the longer the German imperialists drew out that war of plunder and as the German forces and reserves melted away in that war, a similar peace could not but be all the worse for Germany herself. Consequently 1918 was but a culminating point but not the original cause of the catastrophe.

Is it true that Germany was not defeated in the battle? No, this too is a lie. It was not some mysterious "conspirators in the rear" but the German High Command that demanded unconditional surrender in the autumn of 1918. No less a personage than Ludendorff writes in his memoirs on the position in September, 1918:

"The military situation could only grow considerably worse. Whether this would take place slowly or with fatal speed, that was impossible to foresee. . . . Under those circumstances I felt my great responsibility was to secure a speedy termination of the war and to urge the government to resolute action to

that end. . . . At 6 P.M. on September 28 I visited the Oberfield Marshal [von Hindenburg] in his office. . . . I outlined my ideas about peace and an armistice. . . . On parting we shook hands heartily as men who had buried what was most cherished by them."

Early in October the German High Command sent a message to the government, which ran in part: "The High Command insists on its demand sent you Monday, October 3, of immediately approaching the enemy with a view to concluding peace." In the event of this desperate appeal not being heeded by the German government the High Command threatened the "most far-reaching decisions."

Is it true that "a stab in the back" brought Germany's defeat and catastrophe? No, this is a lie. The German army was no longer fit to stand up against fresh enemy forces continuously streaming to the front. The German rear was totally stripped of reserves, and hunger and pestilence had reduced it to a state of extreme exhaustion. There was only one chance of national salvation for the German people and that was ruthlessly to settle accounts with those who were to blame for the war, with their own imperialists. In that event the German people would have found in themselves the strength to resurrect Germany from within and to fight against an unjust peace. In this Germany would have found powerful allies among other peoples. This did not take place.

The Kaiser left but there remained the Junkers, Krupp and Thyssen, the out-and-out imperialists. That is why the Versailles Treaty became a measureless catastrophe for the German nation.

Is it true that responsibility for the tragic consequences of the war rests only with the Weimar Republic? No, this is a lie. The Weimar Republic can certainly not be cleared of serious and onerous guilt. Its guilt lies not in having signed the Versailles Treaty, for any other government would have been forced to sign it. Nor was it to blame for having undertaken to pay reparations, nor for trying by peaceful means steadily to reduce the Versailles levies, which were fettering the country. Its real and great historical guilt lies in the fact that from the very outset it enlisted the Junkers and generals to aid it against the people, enabled them not only to maintain their omnipotence but also to shift the entire burden of the Versailles Treaty onto the shoulders of the people while they themselves waxed rich on incredible exploitation of the German people, on inflation and all manner of looting.

It was the German imperialists who gave the people the Versailles Treaty. The German people were forced to pay, not to the nations whose homes and wealth had been destroyed by the German sword, but to their own imperialist vultures and jackals. Versailles at home—that indeed was the greatest calamity of the German nation.

In their agitation against the Versailles Treaty the Nazis always started with the reparations the people were made to pay. Precisely

on this issue we must expose the diabolical mechanism of Versailles at home. The first reparations plan, drawn up in 1920, provided that Germany pay 269,000,000,000 gold marks. This figure was, of course, a figment of idle fantasy. But it embittered the German people and opened the floodgates to all and every kind of chauvinist propaganda. But in 1921 the reparations were reduced to 132,000,000,000 and in 1929 the Young Plan cut them to 36,000,000,000. Finally, in 1932, the figure was further cut to 3,000,000,000 marks and, moreover, was to be paid in the form of bonds.

When Reichs Chancellor Bruening declared that Germany would pay no more reparations the Versailles Powers reacted simply by taking note of this statement. Thus Germany was finally rid of reparations as early as 1932, or one year before Hitler's seizure of power. In reality, however, Germany paid reparations out of her own exchequer only one single year, under the Cuno Government. In that year Germany did turn over to the victorious powers part of her wealth exacted from the people by the German imperialists. But already in 1924 the reparations were covered by foreign credits. From 1924 through 1932 Germany paid 19,000,000,000 marks in reparations and received a similar sum in foreign credits. With one hand the German imperialists paid out reparations and with the other they received foreign credits, but with both hands they robbed the German people, using the reparations as a pretext. Nor should it be forgotten that a substantial part of the reparation payments were made in kind (coal, machinery, chemical products, etc.). These commodity deliveries as well as foreign credits which, incidentally, were never repaid, enabled the German steel magnates and coal barons to build up enormous heavy industry and facilitated an unprecedented concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few. In actual fact, already at that time there was set up that colossal industry which later enabled Hitler rapidly to effect Germany's rearmament.

The German imperialists had, therefore, no grounds to be dissatisfied with this financial mechanism of the Versailles system. But the German people were compelled to bear bitter suffering under the yoke of this Versailles mechanism, which was incomprehensible to them. The German workers and office employees, peasants and handicraftsmen believed it was France, England and America who were fleecing them. But in reality the German people were being robbed by their own German capitalists, who were constantly pointing to the Versailles Treaty. Had the German people smashed this Versailles at home, the foreign Versailles would have looked different too.

But Hitler and his "National-Socialists" regarded it as their particular aim to make this home Versailles safe for the German imperialists and expand it to the limit. During the struggle over the Ruhr, Hitler ordered his gangs to take no part in the popular resistance to occupation and concentrate all forces

on the struggle against German democracy. When Germany was in turmoil over the question of compensating the princes Hitler ordered his subordinates to support this disgraceful tribute by the German people to the Hohenzollerns and Wittelsbachers. Hitler called not for struggle against the German imperialists, who were unscrupulously piling up profits through Versailles, but preached "people's communion" with these parasitic stranglers of the German people. Lastly, Hitler replaced the Weimar Republic with a system which gives the people no rights whatsoever and places full domination in the hands of a clique of imperialist desperadoes. Is it true that the new World War was necessary to obliterate the Versailles Treaty and that Hitler is waging a war to repeal it? No, this is a lie.

Germany's complete economic and political sovereignty was restored prior to Hitler's advent to power and without war. Germany entered the League of Nations with equal rights and obligations. No inter-Allied commission had the right to interfere with Germany's home affairs and no foreign soldier could remain on German soil. The annexation of the Saar region to Germany was predetermined by setting the date for the plebescite before that fixed by the Versailles Treaty. What remained unsolved was the problem of Danzig and the Polish Corridor, and the general problem of relations with Poland.

The German people wanted to see a peaceful settlement of these controversial questions too. The overwhelming majority of the German people most resolutely rejected the idea of war over Danzig or the Polish Corridor. On the whole, the German people became reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, which for half a century had been the apple of discord and which never merged with the German state in genuine unity.

What remained then was only the question of restricting Germany's armed forces to a small professional army. But, since not even the German fascists could claim that Germany was threatened with an attack from any quarter whatsoever, restoration of a large armed force was demanded only by those who themselves cherished plans of aggression.

For Hitler the struggle against the Versailles Treaty was but a smokescreen covering up preparations for a war conquest. If the restoration of a strong and effective army, the entrance of German troops into the remilitarized Rhineland, could still be regarded as the repeal of the Versailles terms; if the occupation of Austria, which never formed a part of Germany, and the forcible annexation of the Sudetenland could still be covered up by some sort of nationalist motives, all subsequent military acts of Hitler are acts of imperialist robbery plain and simple.

What national interests of the German people has he defended in the war against the Spanish People's republic? What did the invasion of Prague, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia have to do with the repeal of the

Versailles Treaty? And the seizure of Norway, Belgium, Holland, the shameful attack on Yugoslavia and Greece, on the people who so heroically defended their independence —who would dare to depict these sanguinary and piratical attacks as a just national war or a national struggle of the German people? Finally, the most criminal and treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, which always rejected the Versailles Treaty, the Soviet Union whose interests never and nowhere clashed with the national interests of Germany—what justification can be found for this foul predatory war?

No, the German fascists were not out to repeal the Versailles Treaty. Their aim was to thrust on all other people the yoke of enslavement compared with which the Versailles burden would be mere child's play. From the very outset their policy was not national but predatory, imperialist and anti-national.

The further Hitler progressed from preparing the war to actual operation of his robber plans of conquest, the more his lying demagogy about the Versailles Treaty gave way to equally lying demagogy about *lebensraum*. In their criminal war against the Soviet Union, Hitler could no longer fall back on the Versailles propaganda. Here, along with the "Bolshevik bogey," Hitler resorted to his lies about *lebensraum*. The German people, the Nazis falsely assert, are "a people without room." The Germans, they say, have too little territory, are crowded and congested and therefore poverty-stricken.

The Americans and British and other peoples live well, Hitler never tired of repeating, because they have more territory per capita and the density of their population is incomparably lower than in Germany. But according to this so-called argumentation it would appear that those peoples live better who are lost among vast expanses while nations who have a higher density of labor power per square mile are worse off. But then you cannot catch the German fascists in this. They, if you please, will not agree to any kind of *lebensraum*, they require some special *lebensraum*, one that abounds in raw materials. Nor is that all, they are least of all inclined to come into possession of unpopulated *lebensraum*. By no means; they require populated areas and the more population the better. For otherwise, where would they procure slave labor power? But their fondest desire is *lebensraum* which possesses not only large supplies of raw materials and slave labor power, but where there are mines and mills to be had and machines to be in motion and houses to provide shelter for their hordes.

Lastly, they display a keen interest in what amount of capital can be invested in such *lebensraum* and how much super-profits it promises in return. Raw materials, slave labor power and export of capital—such are the cornerstones of fascist *lebensraum*. But all of this, as Lenin had already shown, constitutes the basic elements of every policy for imperialist expansion. Hence the poetical catch-

word *lebensraum* is nothing but a rehash of the very prosaic but far more precise word "imperialism," just as the notorious catchphrase "place in the sun" so dear to the hearts of the German imperialist wolves before the First World War was but another expression for raw materials, slave labor power and export of capital.

And so the Nazi slogan of conquering *lebensraum* is imperialist to the core. But then another question arises: perhaps the well-being of nations does depend on the size of its *lebensraum*? The facts of history show that the well-being of nations depends on other factors, namely, the development of their productive forces, the political regime, the social system and, lastly, the relations between the given nation and other countries.

Prehistoric nomads possessed virtually unlimited territory and inexhaustible sources of raw material, but both were of little avail for they had neither the means of production nor the social organization to convert these natural riches into things useful to man.

Brazil is a country teeming with the most valuable raw materials and with enormous *lebensraum*, while Germany, for example, has relatively less valuable materials and incomparably greater density of population. Yet it would hardly enter anybody's mind to challenge the fact that the standard of living of the German people prior to the Hitlerites' accession to power was far higher than that of the Brazilian population. Obviously this difference must be attributed to a much higher development of the productive forces, technology, work methods, etc. And, on the basis of this high level of productive forces, Germany was able to advance to new achievements in technology which, were it not for Hitler rule, could have materially contributed to making Germany one of the richest of the world's nations. No amount of *lebensraum* will ever afford the German people these gigantic potentialities. Further, the productive forces of any nation cannot be regarded as separate from its political system.

Under tsardom, Russia was no smaller in size and had no less raw material resources than the U. S. S. R. possesses today. But tsardom paralyzed the development of Russia's productive forces and was the greatest hindrance to the technical progress and constructive effort of the people. Only the Soviet power brought with it the tremendous scope of popular creative effort and provided favorable requisites for the rapid development of the productive forces and consequently the well-being of the people.

Under Hitler's domination Germany's national economy for many years had been undergoing a one-sided development and had been directed toward one goal, *viz.*, war preparations. Like a pernicious ulcer the war industry spread over the living body of Germany's economy, inflating to the limits the country's parasitic war and police apparatus. There could be no question of a free and proportionate development of the productive forces, and national economy was fraught

with a catastrophic crisis. Only under a fascist regime was Germany really reduced to a poor country and indeed impoverished.

The Nazi "theory" of *lebensraum* maintains that Germany requires colonies to ensure the well-being of her people. Victorious socialism in the Soviet Union has proved quite the opposite. The universal and harmonious development of the productive forces throughout the Soviet Union, the universal and just distribution of the national products without infringing on the interests of a single people or a single race, make for the widest possible initiative, foster a love for work and the constructive labor of all Soviet citizens, thus ensuring continuous economic development of the people.

The Soviet Union's socialist system, with its tremendous economic and cultural achievements and its indestructible unity of over sixty nationalities, has by the irrefutable force of facts destroyed the very foundations of the fascist lies about *lebensraum*. Socialist cooperation is the most perfect system of relations between nations and moreover one that provides the best guarantee of their well-being.

But even ordinary peaceful relations between capitalist countries bring much more benefit than conquests of *lebensraum*. The German people have learned this truth from their own bitter experience. While Germany maintained the customary peaceful relations with all countries, so long as she exchanged the products of her highly developed industry for required commodities, the German people were far better off than they are in the dungeon of fascist anarchy and isolated from world economy.

There was a time when Germany had milk and bread, coffee and tobacco, stockings and shoes and a wide range of other commodities, which under fascism's celebrated autarchy are just as easily found as a pearl in a dung heap. Certainly not everyone could afford much of what they required, but to regard as progress a situation where the overwhelming majority of the population can buy nothing at all, for there is nothing to be had, is sheer absurdity. Can the conquest of *lebensraum* compensate for the abandonment of world trade? Obviously it cannot. Ever since the Balkans became a part of Hitler's *lebensraum*, tobacco has disappeared from the German market. Ever since Denmark and Holland became part of Hitler's *lebensraum*, the Germans have retained only the memory of Dutch and Danish dairy products. Ever since the Nazis occupied the big agrarian countries the German peasant has had no fodder or grain seed.

Evidently the old world trade was far more beneficial than the new *lebensraum*. The German people are today receiving that ghastly object lesson that nothing is so costly as the conquest of *lebensraum*. Hitler enticed the German people with *lebensraum* in the east. But millions have paid with their lives and many millions more have been crippled so that the German army could temporarily seize scorched ruins and factories with-

out machines, and fields without tractors. But is Germany really so poor that she is able to pay only with blood for the raw materials she needs?

Hitler himself said that Germany's war preparations cost her 90,000,000,000 marks. Every year of war costs Germany an average of 50,000,000,000 marks; the first two years cost somewhat less but the third year cost much more. Thus Germany's war expenditure alone amounts approximately to 260,000,000,000.

Prior to the war Germany imported every year 3,000,000,000 marks worth of raw materials and foodstuffs. Hitler screamed that this import was "beyond the reach" of "poor" Germany. But then Germany not only imported but exported as well. She paid for imported raw materials and foodstuffs not in gold but by exporting other foods. But even if Germany were to stop all exports the money spent on the war so far would suffice to cover imports for a good eighty years. And if the former volume of export were maintained it would suffice probably for a whole century.

But Hitler has fleeced the German people of all their riches in order to conquer a *lebensraum* which turned out to be but an immense graveyard for Germany.

Germany needs *lebensraum,* cries this vulture of German imperialism, ostensibly to colonize her peasants. The same was said by Mussolini when he embarked on his predatory war against Ethiopia. But no sooner was Ethiopia conquered when ever new troops, units and police forces had to be dispached there. And very few Italian peasants took advantage of this Ethiopian *lebensraum.* Moreover, those who did emigrate did so under coercion.

The imperialists send to their colonies only as many people as are required to subjugate the native population and force it to slave labor. Their plan of "settling" is first of all to turn over the conquered lands in the east to German landlords, who hope to reap fancy profits by exploiting the slaves. The Hitlerites would also settle there several scores of thousands of peasants to act as overseers of the population.

But if Hitler is such a good friend of the peasants as to wage a war for their sake, why has he not given them land nearer home, German land, which would not cost him a single drop of blood? Why has he not given them the lands of the peasantry's age-old enemies, the Junkers and land barons? To this day the Hohenzollerns possess 97,000 hectares,* Prince Hohenlohe-Oehrungen has 48,000 hectares, Prince Hohenlohe-Sigmaringen has 46,000, Prince Von Stahlberg-Vernigerode has 36,000 hectares, etc., etc. What splendid *lebensraum* this would be for the German peasants, not some graveyard in a foreign land but real German *lebensraum!* This real *lebensraum* was stolen from the German people by Hitler.

For the German worker *lebensraum* means production of articles serving not death but life, it means

---

* One hectare equals 2.7 acres.—*Ed.*

freedom to unite with his fellow workers, with his comrades in a struggle against exploitation and for the well-being of his class and people. For the German peasant *lebensraum* means the right to be the real master of his land and not a serf toiling away for a fascist overlord or Prussian baron. For the German intellectual *lebensraum* means freedom of thought, research and ideas, it means an atmosphere of culture and progress and not barbaric despotism. For the whole German people *lebensraum* means a free Germany which by its achievements, progress and peaceful competition with other nations will win a place of honor. In this *lebensraum* lies the future of the German nation. But the imperialist *lebensraum* which Hitler uses to deceive the German people means war, poverty, disgrace and decline.

The German fascists seek to substantiate their claims to foreign *lebensraum* by the lie of alleged German "racial superiority" over all other nations. The Germans, Hitler says, are destined by very "Providence" to rule over "lower and inferior" races. This, Hitler says, is a "historical law" and this law not only gives Germany claims to world domination but makes eternal war of conquest the calling of the German nation.

This rough and ready race theory, which was always the favorite among the imperialists, the Nazis have stretched to extremes of bestiality. There are, of course, different human races. But what distinguishes one race from another is a question that puzzles all students of race research. Every system of race classification is countered by dozens of opposing systems. But the German fascists have chosen the simplest course. Race distinctions, they say, are in the blood and in the "race soul." But numerous authorities can be quoted to show that only four groups of blood exist, and that these four groups may be found not only among all human races but among certain types of chimpanzees as well. There remains, therefore, the "race soul," which does not lend itself to any scientific research whatsoever and can be understood only with the help of the notorious "intuition" of the German fascists.

With the brazenness and barbarian disregard for science so typical of them, the Hitlerites would have us believe that the entire historical development is determined by the victory of "superior" races over "inferior," the victory of "pure" race blood over "impure."

Is there anything like a "pure" race at all possible among the present nations? The Eskimos perhaps are to some extent the "purest" of all races, but European races without exception originated from the most variegated mixture of races. History shows that the most diverse nations and races came to the fore in different eras. The Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, Assyrians were the bearers of high culture at a time when the Germans, who are supposed to possess "race superiority," were but savage nomads and had made no contribution to the progress of human culture.

Later the Romans and Greeks

emerged as Europe's outstanding bearers of culture and when the German nationalities, Vandals and others, invaded the declining Roman empire they could by no means be regarded as promoters of human progress. Only much later did the Germans enter the ranks of the great cultured peoples.

But even in the middle ages the Italians, French and Spaniards were at any rate equal to the Germans in cultural attainments and surpassed them in several respects. In modern times the English and French were responsible for many great achievements while the Germans were on the decline ever since the Thirty Years' War, and only in the second half of the 18th century did the German nation produce Lessing and Herder, Goethe and Schiller, Kant and Hegel.

What is the explanation of this constant change, this advance of one and then another nation? The fascist race theory provides no answer to this. But there is a clear answer if we examine the real causes and driving forces of development of human society. Indeed the development of human society is on the whole the development of the productive forces and the relations of production.

Those peoples who, due to definite conditions, became settled before others were the first to employ more perfected tools and methods of work, were the first to produce more than was required for direct consumption, were the first to go over to complex division of labor and in culture too, overtook other peoples and acquired a leading place. But even the most advanced nations can gradually lag and indeed decline if they cling to a social system that contradicts the development of productive forces. They are overtaken by nations whose new productive forces demolish the old relations of production, obsolete social systems and establish new and higher social systems.

Thus England overtook and defeated old Spain, for the Spaniards were burdened with an obsolete conservative order, whereas in England a bourgeois society was flourishing. France was transformed by a bourgeois-democratic revolution into Europe's leading power. Germany, thanks to the rapid development of German capitalism in the second half of the last century, became transformed from a backward and weak country into a major power. And in a more recent epoch too, Russia, by the victory of socialism, made unprecedented forward strides and a powerful and most durable state in the world grew up where the rotting tsarist empire once stood. Dozens of nationalities which tsardom regarded as "inferior" and treated as abject slaves have after two decades of socialism changed beyond recognition. They have produced gifted political leaders, writers and musicians, engineers and inventors, scientists and explorers. As equals they stand side by side with the great Russian people and some of them have in a single generation advanced a thousand years. The secret of this "awakening of the race soul" is simple indeed; the obsolete social system was replaced

by a progressive social system, by socialism.

The Nazis' race theory, stripped of all its trimmings and mystical haze, reduces itself to the bare assertion "we are the stronger and therefore superior race," or to Hitler's frantic shouts: "We Germans are the best military leaders, soldiers, politicians, organizers," etc.

This brings the whole question of racial superiority down from the inaccessible heights of "intuition" to terra firma, for if "the best military leaders" suffer defeat, "the best political leaders" turn out to be adventurists, "the best" soldiers encounter even better soldiers and "the best" organizers are unable to organize even the timely supplies for a winter campaign—then this puts the lid on the whole lying theory of racial superiority.

Besides, what would the Germans say if their race theory were to strike back at them like a boomerang and their victor were to repeat their own words "you are an inferior race, you are the scum of all races." But the victors will not do that. Stalin, in his historic order of the day to the Red Army on February 23, stressed that "the Red Army is free from the feeling of racial hatred. It is free from such degrading feeling because it has been educated to believe in racial equilty and to respect the rights of other nations."

The fascist theory of superior and inferior races is but an expression of the most reactionary and moribund imperialism. It has nothing in common with the feeling of national dignity. Everyone who really loves his nation and is proud of its contributions to freedom and progress hates everything slavish and reactionary, that only degrades the nation. He wants to see his own nation free and happy and winning the confidence and respect of other peoples by its achievements. Such real patriots would never even think of slandering other peoples. Only people who have no affection or respect for their own nation can slander other nations, humiliate them and thereby engender in their own country an unhealthy and fatal arrogance. Only the case-hardened imperialists require such a race theory, aimed solely at inciting bestial hatred for other peoples to justify their own predatory and criminal wars of conquest.

The "nationalist" mask has been torn from German fascism, exposing to the world the devilish, sinister and avid face of bloodthirsty predatory imperialism. Hitler's policy was never national, always imperialist. His demagogy has corrupted all national feelings and demands of the German people, it has criminally abused them and mutilated them beyond recognition. Germany has today to accomplish one truly national task—once and for all to put an end to the fascist plague, which has brought humanity and the German people itself so much evil and misfortune.

THE SPECTRE OF DEFEAT HAUNTS HITLER GERMANY

BY A. GEREY

FOLLOWING the failure of Hitler's attack on Moscow the German High Command ordered the Nazi armies "to stabilize" the front for the winter period. The aim of the German Command in issuing this order was to be able in a relatively quiet situation along the stabilized front to reform its units battered in the unsuccessful onslaught on Moscow, to accumulate and summon fresh reserves, to concentrate a large mass of mechanized weapons and to prepare for a new offensive in the spring. To the average German accustomed to victory fanfares of special communiqués this task might have seemed a very modest one. But this "modesty" was no virtue of Hitler's. It was dictated by grim necessity, as a result of the Red Army's counter-offensive launched on December 6, 1941.

In a powerful offensive, the impetus of the Red Army, guided by its great strategist and leader, Stalin, after difficult operations of active defense, wrested the initiative from the Germans. At many sectors of the front the Red Army pierced the German defenses, captured several key positions along the main defense line, intercepted the rear communications and is successfully encircling the German troops at some sectors of the front. The German army suffered, and indeed continues to suffer, terrific losses in material and particularly in manpower.

To hold up the Red Army's advance Hitler was compelled to withdraw troops from France, Yugoslavia and other occupied lands and to hurl into battle some of those reserves that had been kept in readiness for a spring offensive. This drastic deterioration of Hitler Germany's war position, as a result of the heavy defeats at the Soviet-German front, the colossal losses in manpower and material reserves, is felt by the whole population and has greatly influenced the sentiments of the German troops at the front and wide sections of the population in the Reich.

The idea that Germany cannot win this war against the U.S.S.R. and a larger part of the world is penetrating deeper among the masses of German people. The spectre of defeat is beginning to haunt Hitler Germany. It gives the Hitler chieftains no rest. They cannot help recalling 1918, when Germany collapsed in the First World War.

Goebbels, writing in his mouthpiece, *Das Reich*, repeats with un-

concealed rage that the Fuehrer will not allow a repetition of 1918. The leader of the so-called Labor Front shouts the same thing at every meeting to which the Gestapo agents forcibly drive the workers. In a speech on January 30 Hitler, the chieftain of the whole gang, hysterically screamed that as long as he is alive 1918 won't be repeated and that he is firmly resolved never and under no circumstances to surrender. Where there is smoke there is fire. If the Hitler ringleaders are so eager to rid themselves of the spectre of November, 1918, it is obvious that they feel the approach of a new 1918. And the day is indeed near when 1918 will come back to Germany.

Hitler would have the Germans believe that a repetition of November, 1918, is impossible because he has taken every conceivable precaution to avert a new defeat of Germany. But Hitler takes his own delirious conceptions for reality. First in these mad ravings is a belief that, having smashed the labor organizations and driven the Communist Party underground, having destroyed all legal opposition by means of wanton terror, he has created "national unity" and thus secured that strong rear which the Kaiser lacked in the first war.

However, Hitler has created not national unity but only a semblance of it. In actual fact the gap between the Hitler gang and the German people is much deeper than the one between Wilhelm II and the German people. Wilhelm could, with some justification, boast of having established *Burgfrieden,* for he was supported by all political parties, including German Social-Democracy, which by its support of Kaiser Germany was disgraced in the eyes of the whole world. But Hitler has only succeeded in driving the dissatisfaction of the people below the surface by catching the people in a vice of bloody fascist dictatorship. Consequently, the hatred of the masses for Hitler and his clique will be felt a hundredfold stronger than the hatred of the masses for the Kaiser, as the war goes on.

The Hitlerites tried to find comfort in the fact that their alleged national unity has removed the possibility of political crises in Germany. With a fascist dictatorship in existence crises cannot assume the forms customary in bourgeois states. They must of necessity take on specific forms. In actual fact, the beginning of the political crisis in Germany already finds expression in the sharpening of relationships between the Hitler party and the military leadership. This form of crisis was not known in Germany throughout the whole of the First World War. At that time the German military command led by Ludendorff and Hindenburg never throughout the whole course of the war came into any serious friction with the political leadership headed by the Kaiser.

Another of Hitler's mad ravings is the idea that, with his own fascist party in the saddle, with his own fascist youth organization and privileged armed forces and S.S. detachments, he is ensured sufficiently strong support and has secured his regime against any contingencies.

However, the existence of these organizations represents not only the strength but also the weakness of the regime.

Hitler's party is anything but uniform. Like Hitler's youth organization, it is torn by serious inner antagonisms which, while hidden below the surface today, must in the future, as the difficulties confronting the Nazi imperialists grow, come to the surface with all the greater force.

The S.S. detachments serve the Hitlerites as weapons for suppressing the masses and splitting the nation. More than once in history have reactionary regimes tried to safeguard themselves against the assaults of the people by setting up armed bands. The tsarist government too had its notorious Black Hundred units, but this did not save tsarism. Quite the contrary, the foul misdeeds of the Black Hundreds fanned the hatred of the masses for tsardom and in the final analysis accelerated its downfall. And we are justified in believing that the Hitlerites will derive no better results from employing their S.S. bands against the German people.

Hitler's third mad idea is that he can be saved by Germany's powerful technique and her thorough preparations for war, much better than those of Wilhelm.

Assisted by foreign credits, the German bourgeoisie was able materially to reconstruct its highly developed industry in 1923-29, that is, before Hitler came to power. For six years the Hitler regime made feverish preparations for war. Hitler invested no less than 90,000,000,000 marks in this work. At the outbreak of the war Germany had substantial stocks of raw materials and liquid fuel. In the course of the war she gained possession of France, Belgium, Holland and other countries of Europe which afforded fresh stocks of raw materials and large stores of weapons. But all this cannot save Hitler. Germany's adversaries, the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Great Britain, have industries in no way inferior to Germany's. Indeed, in many respects the technical development of industry in the countries opposing Hitler Germany surpasses that of the Reich. Soviet tanks and aircraft are, for example, superior to German. New American mechanical equipment, designed with due account of the experience of the first period of the war, is also superior to German. But even mechanical equipment of equal standard produces a different effect depending upon the men operating it.

The Red Army, which is waging a just and patriotic war, makes much better use of equipment than does the Htiler army, which is waging an unjust and predatory war. The lofty ideal of defense of their socialist country inspires the Red Army men, urges them on to new and unparalleled feats and encourages invention. For that reason the Red Army can gain greater performance from its weapons than the fascist soldiers.

The fact that Germany had reconstructed her entire economy for war work long before the outbreak of the present war could have been an advantage if the war were carried out as a blitzkrieg, as Hitler's

policymakers hoped. But the war is drawing out. Hence the fact that Germany outstripped her opponents in developing war production to a full pitch is no longer an advantage but a major drawback. The countries forming the anti-Hitler coalition have tremendous potentialities for developing war production, while in Germany these potentialities are growing less with every day.

Hitler's fourth delirious idea is that he possesses an army capable of constantly marching forward. He consoles himself and his confederates with the thought that the present retreat of his army on the Soviet-German front represents but a temporary "misunderstanding," due allegedly to the severe Russian winter. Winter, Hitler says, will be followed by spring and the German army will resume its advance. Yes, winter is passing and spring approaching, but the results of the serious defeats inflicted on the Hitler hordes by the Red Army remain. Severe military defeats, terrific losses at the front, depletion of manpower reserves in Germany—all this is undermining the German soldiers' and population's faith in victory.

Symptoms are multiplying in the German army indicating the setting in of disintegration. There is greater desertion among the German troops and particularly among the Finnish and Rumanian troops. There is an increasing number of German soldiers and even officers who surrender themselves to the Red Army. The transfer of troops from the occupied lands to the Soviet-German front evokes resentment among the soldiers who had been garrisoned in the occupation armies and accustomed to a relatively quiet life behind the lines. In several places soldiers dispatched from France to the Soviet-German front refused to obey orders. In one town in the South of France, German soldiers blocked the railway with trucks in order to prevent a troop train from leaving for the Soviet-German front.

The forced retreat at the Soviet-German front, as well as the incessant attacks by the Soviet troops and the Red Army, and the Red Army's successful tactic of encircling and destroying whole German units, as at Staraya Russa, and the profound hostility of the population, which becomes much more active as the Germans retreat, is having a particularly demoralizing effect on the German troops. This demoralization is accelerated by the worsening of supplies, the terrible sanitary conditions of the German soldiers, for which the Nazi command is to blame, and widespread contagious diseases.

Behind the German lines an increasing number of men avail themselves of every possible means to avoid mobilization and dispatch to the front. Of late the German press and the radio have been conducting an energetic drive to recruit young "volunteers" for shock detachments, for tank corps, the air fleet and other units. These are all signs that even the German shock troops are suffering particularly heavy losses and that there are far less "volunteers" prepared to go

under fire in the interests of the Nazi imperialists. It also shows that the fighting spirit of the army has declined considerably.

To replenish the depleting ranks of his army Hitler has no choice but to mobilize for reserve units large numbers of workers from the war plants. They are from the older generation and a large majority of them had formed their views and outlook under anti-fascist influences before Hitler came to power. Among the German workers mobilized of late are many who sympathize with the Communists, many former members of free trade unions and other anti-fascist elements. The reflection of the disintegration process already setting in in the German army is seen in the statements of the German soldiers and officers taken prisoner by the Soviet troops. In the First World War there were no cases of war prisoners coming out against their own government and their own army. Nor are there any such cases in the present war among the soldiers of the countries opposing Hitler Germany. But things are quite different with Germany and her allies.

At present numerous German war prisoners are exposing Hitler to the world as a warmonger and the mortal foe of the German people. At the first conference of the German war prisoners in the U.S.S.R. 158 delegates unanimously adopted the appeal, which was in fact a grim and truthful indictment of the Nazi imperialists, who first enslaved the German people and subsequently other nations too. The German war prisoners fixed their signatures to this appeal. Thousands more have followed the example of the 158 and attached their signatures to this document. A group of sixty-one German war prisoners sent a protest to the International Red Cross against the barbaric treatment of the Soviet war prisoners at the hands of the German military authorities. Basing themselves on concrete facts, they exposed the German fascist elements and the German High Command. Groups of officers taken war prisoner have also declared themselves against the Hitler Government.

One of Hitler's most vulnerable spots is his allies and the occupied lands. The economic and political difficulties are more marked here than in Germany proper. These countries are more exhausted than Germany. Hungary and Finland, which for the second time have been plunged into an unpopular war by their corrupt leaders, have reached the last degree of exhaustion. Rumania, dismembered by the German imperialists in favor of other "allies," partly occupied by German troops and utterly looted by them, is being pressed down by war burdens.

Fascist Italy, which has been at war, with few rare intervals, since 1935, entered the present war economically weakened and with dislocated finances. Properly speaking, Italy has already lost the war.

Hungary became a multi-national state on the very eve of and during the present war and is now torn asunder by inner dissension.

The peoples of the countries "al-

lied" with Germany hate the German imperialists, whom they regard as bitter enemies who subjugate them economically and trample on their independence. In most cases the corrupt rulers of these countries have no organized force such as Hitler has in the fascist party, the Hitler youth and the S.S. troops. Moreover, their armies are worse equipped than the German army. In one form or another we may expect a repetition of what happened in the 1914-18 war with Germany's allies. In that war the weakness of the countries fighting on Germany's side led to deep breaks in the front and was the first serious impetus which brought on Germany's military collapse.

It is well known that the first to fall out then was the utterly exhausted Bulgaria, which concluded a separate armistice with the Allies. Bulgaria was followed by Turkey. Later the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed under the unbearable burden of the war. And following Austro-Hungary came the military collapse of Germany, which had been prepared by the March events. In the present war Germany's position is rendered more complicated by the fact that insoluble contradictions divide her "allies." There are antagonisms between Rumania and Hungary over Transylvania and Banat, between Bulgaria and Rumania over Dobruja, between Hungary and Slovakia over territorial claims, etc. The Nazi imperialists at times encourage, only later to restrain, these antagonisms and use them to strengthen their own rule over their satellites. But this is a dangerous game and it can well turn against Hitler. Indeed, it is bound to turn against Hitler as the German war machine weakens, for it is undermining Hitler's rear in the so-called allied countries and reducing the fighting efficiency of their armies.

The economic position of Hitler in the occupied countries is many times worse than in the Reich proper and incomparably worse than the position of German-occupied countries in 1914-18. The Red Army's heroic resistance and especially its successful offensive have enhanced the morale of the peoples subjugated by Hitler. Worn down by hunger, privation and humiliation at the hands of the Nazi bandits, their honor and national independence insulted, these peoples are beginning to develop national movements against the occupation armies. In some places they are launching guerrilla war. During the First World War there was no such strong movement against German occupation.

In order to maintain their tottering domination the Nazi invaders are in all occupied countries of western Europe more openly resorting to the terror and atrocities employed by them in temporarily occupied districts of the U.S.S.R. from the very outset of the war.

On Soviet territory they encountered from the very start active resistance of the population, sabotage and armed struggle of the masses, which gave the fascist invaders not a moment of peace. In Europe a more resolute manifestation of dissatisfaction in the form

of mass movements against the occupation troops is so far hindered by the failure of certain leaders in the national liberation movement of these countries to appreciate clearly that the liberation of every people from the Hitler invaders is the first and foremost task of the people themselves. But, despite certain weaknesses in the mass movements among Hitler's subjugated peoples, all attempts by the German imperialists to foist a colonial regime on these people will come up against the stout resistance of the masses, which in their majority have not experienced a foreign yoke in the past.

Certainly no one can say beforehand what concrete forms the inexorably approaching collapse of Hitler Germany will take. But some vague idea of this may be gained from the sequence of events leading to imperial Germany's collapse in the First World War.

The Hitlerites brazenly affirm that Germany was not defeated in the 1914–18 war. They require this statement to support the myth of the invincibility of German arms, now shattered to bits by the Red Army. They require this statement to shift the blame for the terrible repercussions of the last World War onto the German people and acquit the German imperialists. With this aim in view they concocted the none too clever legend of a "stab in the back." But this absurd legend is refuted by elementary facts.

The Allies were bringing ever new divisions to the front, more and more fresh reserves and increasing the number of tanks and other weapons. The German command had but little to place in the field against these fresh forces. The German High Command and the war minister were debating whether several score thousand more workers could be taken from war plants and sent to the front. And when the war ministry decided to comply with the Army Command's demands, Ludendorf suddenly had good reason to doubt the fighting value of these men. He was asking himself, what would they bring with them to the front and what would happen to the war output? This was the dilemma which puzzled the German High Command and the German political leadership.

Three months before the armistice it was quite clear to Ludendorf that Germany had finally and irrevocably lost the war. In his own words, August 8, 1918, was a "black day" for the German army, for it brought out in bold relief the decline of Germany's huge military might and showed that Germany was not able by force of arms to overpower the Allies. Therefore, "the further conduct of the war by Germany became but an irresponsible gamble."

Hitler and his clique are waging the present war in the same form of gamble. And the clearer the hopelessness of this gamble becomes, the more furious will be Germany's last efforts to achieve at least a partial success. The more reverses the Hitlerites suffer, the more desperate and furious do they become. Disregarding the senseless loss of life,

they will try to wage a war to the very last, to total collapse. "What happens after us does not concern us" is their bandit motto, which they will continue to follow. They know only too well that the German people will never forgive the terrible crimes, suffering and hunger which they brought, nor will they forgive the bloody war of loot into which they have flung the German nation. They know that the people will not forgive the disgrace which the Hitlerites brought on them by their violence against other nations. Feeling that they are doomed men, the Hitlerites want to drag the German people into the abyss with them. But, as Stalin pointed out, "History shows that Hitlers come and go but the German people and the German state remain."

The fatal *Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin* is inscribed on the shaky edifice of Hitler domination. When this verdict of the people against the Hitler gang is carried out it will liberate mankind from this terrible nightmare and mark the beginning of the resurrection of the German people.

STERLING SONS OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

By ANDRE MARTY

THE TRIAL at Riom staged by Pétain at Hitler's orders began on February 19. Ostensibly it was being held to mete out punishment to the persons guilty for France's defeat and the present tragic state of her people. The same Vichy "judges" and their Berlin patrons, just before the Riom trial, executed Gabriel Peri and Lucien Sampaix, two sterling French patriots who exposed the real culprits of France's present catastrophe.

Eleven months before Hitler unleashed his war in Europe, on October 4, 1938, Gabriel Peri addressed the Chamber of Deputies on behalf of the Communist Parliamentary group. With castigating straightforwardness he declared "the victim which has been given up to slaughter should not be forgotten for it was surrendered only because it was France's friend and believed in France's word." This victim was Czechoslovakia, which could immobilize forty German divisions and presented a splendid base for air operations against Hitler's war industry and an excellent jumping-aff ground for a blow against the Hitler army then ranged against France. This victim was Czechoslovakia, whose security was a guarantee of French security and was in turn guaranteed by France. Czechoslovakia, whose people were bound by intimate ties of friendship with the French nation, was turned over to Hitler at Munich. France's rulers were silent in the Chamber of Deputies.

Gabriel Peri, pointing his finger at Bonnet, leader of Hitler's fifth column, and a German spy, Abetz, continued:

"The Hitlerites recede only when confronted by a firm will. You have not saved peace, as you would have us believe. In Munich you set up an anti-democratic and anti-labor sacred alliance. . . . What are the pillars of your present foreign policy? You are protected against further claims against Germany only by promises that are just as valid as was the guarantee of Austrian independence. You have killed the basic element of strength of democracy—the confidence of nations."

This indictment was like the lashes of a whip. The Chamber, filled with the political opponents of Peri, listened in silence without a single word of protest. The fifth columnists dared not interrupt him. Bonnet, that traitor minister, liar and enemy agent, hid behind the backs of his colleagues. The Deputy

of the working people of Argenteuil, the Communist, Vice-President of the Chamber and Foreign Policy Commission, Gabriel Peri, gave a true picture of the situation in France following Munich. He brought to the public view the peril facing France and showed how it could be averted, for France's fate was being decided at that fateful hour.

On October 7, 1938, almost at the same time when Gabriel Peri made his grim indicting speech, the journalist Lucien Sampaix, writing in *l'Humanité,* called on the French people to be on guard against the enemy at home.

"The Cagoulards are raising their heads," wrote Sampaix. "They carry German and Italian weapons and are preparing for a new February 6. Hitler's fifth column is already preparing to shoot Frenchmen."

Three years later, on December 14, 1941, Lucien Sampaix, irreproachable journalist, Communist and son of the French working class, was shot by the Gestapo. The Germans and their Vichy servitors hated and feared this patriot who had exposed their treachery and villainy.

Gabriel Peri came from a Corsican family of ardent patriots who always regarded it a great honor to uphold France's cause and to die in France's service. Gabriel Peri was first associated with social and public activities in November, 1917, when he was a 15-year-old pupil in a Marseilles school. Those were hard days for France. The war was entering its fourth winter. But, far away from France, vast Russia had risen against the robber war and was choosing a new path. Led by Lenin and Stalin the great Socialist Revolution scored victory in Russia. The whole of the French press screamed that Soviet power would last only a few weeks, or a few months at most. But Peri, then a member of the Young Socialist League, was filled with enthusiasm. In Marseilles he organized the first group of Young Socialists in defense of Soviet Russia. In 1918 Peri was arrested and appeared before the court. Already at that time he had made the choice between a "brilliant career" open to him by his family background and ability, and service to the people.

Gabriel Peri was one of the founders of the French Young Communist League and the founder of the paper *l'Avante Garde,* fighting organ of France's working youth. He countered hypocritical pacifism by his unremitting campaign to explain the significance, feats and specific features of the great Red Army of the Soviet people. In 1921 Peri became the Secretary of the Young Communist League of France. He was arrested in January, 1923, at the time when the French troops occupied the Ruhr and the Young Communist League of France called on the French soldiers to fraternize with the progressive workers of Germany for a joint struggle against imperialism and reaction on both shores of the Rhine. Peri was removed from prison to a hospital in a grave condition as the result of a hunger strike declared in solidarity with other arrested leaders—Marcel

Cachin, Pierre Samard and Monmouseau.

In 1924 Peri began to work in the foreign department of *l'Humanité* and headed this department for fourteen years. He became one of France's leading commentataors, writing in the pages of *l'Humanité,* organ of the Communist Party and the largest political paper in France. For fourteen years Gabriel Peri proved in his numerous articles that the security and future of France could be insured only by a home and foreign policy guided by the interests of the working people, only by a policy of loyal agreement and friendship with the great Soviet Union.

Any honest Frenchman who wants to see the real causes for the defeat and disgrace of his country requires no falsified Riom trial. He needs only to look back at French history during the last decade to see these causes. It was a great service rendered by Gabriel Peri and Lucien Sampaix that they never failed at every important stage in the struggle for French independence and security to point out to the people through the press, mass meetings or from the parliamentary rostrum, the source of this danger and how it could be combated.

In Paris, in Geneva as an accredited League of Nations journalist, in Prague, Madrid, or in far-off Indo-China, everywhere Gabriel Peri continued to brand treason and to fight to save France from the danger of Hitler slavery.

Peri exposed Laval at the very moment when everyone saw how rotten that politician was but when very few suspected how far-reaching was his treason. Peri branded Laval when the latter signed the Franco-Italian agreement with Rome, and helped Mussolini enslave the Ethiopian people and thereby lay the first link of that chain of treachery which finally led to the defeat, surrender and coup d'état in June, 1940. Peri caught Laval red-handed and showed him up as the leader of the fascist fifth column, as the secret agent of the enemies of France and humanity. Not for a single day did he lose sight of Laval and he constantly exposed how this traitor was helping Hitler in every one of his acts of aggression: remilitarization of the Rhineland, the occupation of Austria, the capture of the Sudetenland. and, finally, the Munich pact.

Not one journalist in France had done a better job than Peri in bringing to light the maneuvers of the champagne salesman Ribbentrop, and that venom of corruption with which Abetz, de Brignon and the Bonnet gang poisoned the French press, the state apparatus and public opinion.

Lucien Sampaix consistently pursued the line of the Communist Party, the only steadfast anti-fascist vanguard of France's working class. He devoted his work as a journalist to exposing those who served Hitler and were preparing the surrender and collapse of France.

Lucien Sampaix was born at Sedan, the city that witnessed the disgrace of MacMahon, who surrendered arms to the enemy out of fear of the Paris people, the city

which in a single generation was twice invaded and devastated by enemy hordes. At an early age the metal worker Sampaix joined the ranks of the active defenders of the needs and interests of the Sedan working folk. In 1924 he joined the Communist Party of France. He won prominence for articles in the labor press, ardently defended the French soldiers against the reactionary officer corps, which could see but one enemy—the French people. For this he was thrust into prison.

Sampaix's devotion to the workers' cause, his inordinate ability and the courage of his exposures brought him into the *l'Humanité* editorial board in 1932. Ever since then Sampaix, who in 1937 became the General Secretary of the editorial board of the central organ of the Communist Party, never tired of exposing the pro-fascist circles of French officialdom, who ever since Hitler's seizure of power regarded the latter as their ally in their fight against the French people.

Disregarding threats directed at him, Sampaix, after February 6, 1934, laid bare the connections between the military organizations of the fascist leagues of de la Rocque, Maurras, Doriot and Hitler. With this proof in his possession Sampaix showed that instructions for these centers of espionage and treason were coming in from Germany and Italy. In 1937 Sampaix showed the French public the part played by the Cagoulards in the terrorist acts of that period. With irrefutable facts he showed that behind the Cagoulard groups stood Air General du Seigneur and other leading officers known for their subversive activities and as agents of the enemy.

On the eve of the war Sampaix again produced proof that the weapons for the fascist clique were brought in from Germany and that leaflets distributed in France and designed to incite defeatism and surrender were printed on Nazi presses in Hamburg. Barely a month before the war broke out, July 28, 1939, Sampaix appeared in court to answer charges of "slander" against Bonnet and other French rulers.

Thanks to the efforts of Lucien Sampaix, Gabriel Peri and other *l'Humanité* collaborators this trial was transformed into a trial of the sinister trio which headed Hitler's fifth column—Abetz, de Brignon and Bonnet.

On the day following the arrest of Aubin, Head of the Information Department of *Le Temps*, and Poirier, collaborator of *Figaro*, on charges of "espionage for a foreign power," Sampaix showed in *l'Humanité* that only the small fry were being made to answer while the chief enemies remained free. This brought him before the court. But together with Sampaix the court had to deal with the entire editorial board of *l'Humanité*, headed by Marcel Cachin and Gabriel Peri. Journalists and Deputies of several French political parties took the witness stand for the defense.

The speech of indictment at this trial was made not by the public prosecutor but by the accused Lucien Sampaix. "Treason to France,

we are convinced, has not been limited to these two individuals," declared Sampaix, "but on the contrary, secret Gestapo agents have succeeded in setting up in France an extremely grave and dangerous network, for France, as Hitler declared in his *Mein Kampf,* was and remains a mortal foe that must be destroyed." Sampaix used facts and facts only to expose the enemy's tactics. "The bandit responsible for establishing the fifth column in France is Abetz."

Sampaix exposed the subversive activities of Doriot, de Brignon, Chiappe, du Seigneur and lastly the Foreign Minister, Bonnet. "It was not I who impaired the cause of national defense," declared Sampaix in conclusion. "With an untroubled conscience I can say that I serve the most sacred interests of my country, which wants to rid itself of traitors and Hitler agents."

Sampaix was followed by Peri, who brought home to the Frenchmen that Hitler always began with blackmail, corruption, threats and isolation of the victim. He showed that Austria and Czechoslovakia had been seized by Hitler in precisely that way. He said, "Otto Abetz, that turncoat, is chief agent for Hitler's destructive work in France." It was Abetz who distributed 300,000,000 francs which, according to one American diplomat, was used to bribe the French press. Abetz's main tool was the French-German Committee headed by de Brignon, who "translated Abetz's orders into French."

Sampaix's last blow was aimed at Bonnet. "One cannot go hunting spies with a certain Cabinet Minister."

The trial became a demonstration of genuine patriotism and bold anti-fascist struggle. The verdict was unparalleled in the history of the French public court: *l'Humanité* and Lucien Sampaix were acquitted. When the audience greeted the verdict with loud applause the whole of France cheered with it. The presiding judge said: "Do not applaud. We are fulfilling our duty."

Then came the defeat of France, prepared beforehand by Hitler's agents. Between June 17 and July 10, 1940, France went through the darkest days of her history. She had still to live through a worse disgrace, to see Abetz in Paris as Ambassador of Hitler Germany, the same Abetz who was deported from France as a spy. France was still to see as French Ambassador in occupied Paris Abetz's righthand man, Count de Brignon.

Peri remained in occupied Paris. In the pages of *l'Humanité,* which appeared illegally, he continued to expose the mortal enemies of France and to call for struggle against them. He kept at this work until he was detected and arrested by the French police, only to be turned over to Gestapo agents.

In November, 1941, Gestapo agents came to his cell to propose that he abandon his views and be granted his life in return. Several days later vile French traitors cynically repeated the same proposal, promising Gabriel Peri a life of fortune, a "brilliant position." Peri, the French Communist and grand-

son of a French Naval Officer, preferred "to die so that France might live."

Like Peri, Lucien Sampaix knew that the traitors Bonnet and de Brignon, whom the enemy had made the masters of France, and the spy Abetz, whom Hitler made Viceroy of France, would strive to take revenge. The Communist metal worker Sampaix remained true to himself to the very last days of his life; he remained an unyielding patriot and enemy of Hitler fascism. Sampaix, too, was asked to exchange his conscience for life. His reply was the same as Gabriel Peri's. "I die so that France may live!" were the last words of Peri. "Vive la France!" were the last words of Lucien Sampaix.

Our France has a great tradition which orders that the last will of a condemned man must be carried out. May this call of genuine patriots ring like a tocsin calling Frenchmen to perform their duty to France, to relentless struggle against their country's bitterest enemy.

THE MORALE OF THE GERMAN REAR AND THE GERMANY ARMY

BY M. MITIN

MANY facts revealing the state of morale behind the German lines and in the German army bear irrefutable evidence that Hitler Germany faces catastrophe.

The spring hullabaloo raised by fascist propaganda about Germany's alleged inexhaustible forces is designed to conceal the facts of the serious inner weakness of the Nazi war machine.

One objective indication of the morale of the German army and the population is provided by numerous documents—letters, diaries of soldiers and officers and Headquarters' Orders—falling into the hands of the Red Army. An analysis of over 16,000 letters from Germany addressed to the Eastern Front and letters from men and officers at the front to Germany permit certain conclusions and generalizations regarding the state of affairs of Germany and the German army.

Out of 14,100 letters from Germany analyzed, 2,000 were written before Germany plunged into the war against the U. S. S. R. Of these, 13 per cent can be classed in the first group, *i. e.*, expressing dissatisfaction with the war, 22 per cent in the second group, *i. e.*, avowedly pro-fascist, and 65 per cent in the third group, *i. e.*, neutral and not touching upon questions of the war.

Of these letters, 4,000 were written between June and August, 1941. Of these, 18.5 per cent were in Group 1, 20 per cent in Group 2, and 61.5 per cent in Group 3.

Out of 6,000 letters written between September and October, 1941, 43 per cent were in Group 1; 20 per cent in Group 2 and 42 per cent in Group 3.

There were 1,000 letters analyzed which were written in November and December, 1941. Seventy-seven per cent of them were in Group 1, 10 per cent in Group 2 and 13 per cent in Group 3.

January, 1942, accounts for 1,000 letters; 75 per cent are in Group 1, 8 per cent in Group 2 and 17 per cent in Group 3.

What do these figures show? Prior to Germany's war against the U. S. S. R. the population of the Reich was intoxicated by the early victories scored by Germany in the war against her weak adversaries. But the picture changes suddenly and rapidly following the Nazis' treacherous attack on the U.S.S.R.

The war against the U. S. S. R. came as a complete surprise for the German people and immediately evoked a feeling of anxiety and alarm among the masses. Reports

reaching Germany told of events at the front, of heavy losses suffered from the very outset of hostilities and helped to change the mood of the German people. Three-quarters of all the letters now sent from Germany to the front are imbued with complaints, protests and indignation. The bitterness of these complaints and their clearly expressed anti-war nature are testimony of the serious turn in the minds of wide masses of the population.

The letters containing camplaints and expressions of dissatisfaction may be divided as follows:

June–Aug.:	*Losses at front*	*Length of war*	*Bombing of German towns*	*Food difficulties*
1941	25%	23%	30%	19%
Sept.-Oct. 1941	81%	64%	47%	41%

In subsequent months, particularly in November, December and January, *i. e.*, when the Red Army launched a counter-offensive and began to rout the Nazi hordes, letters containing cries of despair at the news of terrific losses accounted for 89 per cent of this group.

The situation in the rear goes from bad to worse day by day. Hunger epidemics, forced labor service, coupled with ever-increasing losses at the front as the result of the Red Army's victoriously developing offensive, have all combined to educate wide masses of people, to sober them and free them of the fascist spell. The German people are beginning to understand that Hitler's robber clique is pushing Germany to its greatest national catastrophe.

Here are some examples: The wife of Private Hans Rotbauer writes: "Dear Hans: Mother and I listened to the Fuehrer's speech. I felt bad and cried. My God, I cannot understand it at all. Back in October the Fuehrer announced that the Bolshevik armies were already annihilated. Can it be that we were deceived? Hans, dear, I don't want any victories. I only want you to return alive."

The despair and protest of the population against the criminal war are seen when friends and relatives in their letters go to the extent of advising the men to violate discipline and refuse to fight. They urge the men to dodge being sent to the front lines, to surrender, to desert and, in short, to do everything to survive. And all this despite stringent military censorship.

Here is a passage from a letter to Hans Richard from his wife: "I don't want to be a widow. I don't want our baby to grow up without fatherly care. You must simply come home. Show that you have enough will power to do it."

And here is a passage from a letter to N. C. O. Harold Henkel from his wife in Dingelstedt: "My Dear Husband, You write that Bornell is also wounded. To tell you the truth such a 'shot into the Fatherland' is not always a bad thing." This "shot into the Fatherland" is a slang expression for self-mutilation or light wounds which enable one to return from the front lines.

The German population is being strengthened in its conviction that fascist propaganda is brazenly lying, that all hopes of winning the war are unfounded and that the army

and the people are being outrageously duped by the Nazi leaders.

The gap separating the Hitlerites and the people is widening. In a letter to Private E. dated January 29, 1942, his wife writes from Berlin, "...Frau Ludwig is least of all concerned because her husband is in headquarters. When I entered her kitchen I saw a large portrait of the Fuehrer over her kitchen table. I left immediately because I can't stand these pictures any longer. I have had enough."

Anti-war moods and the passionate desire for peace are so strong in present-day Germany that, notwithstanding the war situation and the monstrous Hitler terror, they are beginning to find an outlet in increasingly active forms. In a letter from Hestrich a wife tells her husband, a private at the Soviet-German Front, the following news: "Last week we got news of five men killed at the front. The people here were terribly upset by these reports. Indignation became so strong that the police had to be called in and they dispersed the people as soon as they tried to get together in small groups."

In December, 1941, when a trainload of seriously wounded men hailing from Berlin reached the German capital grave disorders occurred. The crowd broke through the police cordon to the railway station. There were shouts of protest and dissatisfaction with the Hitler clique. Strong police details found it an extremely difficult job to clean out the railway station. Similar events occurred in other towns.

In his report delivered on the 24th anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution, Stalin said, "The German rear is a volcano ready to erupt and bury the Hitler adventurists."

What is the position in the German Army? This may be judged from the letters from the Soviet-German front. Two thousand of these were analyzed and can be divided into the same three categories as the letters from home.

	No. of Letters	*Group I Dissatisfied with war*	*Group II Pro-Fascist*	*Group III Neutral*
June-Aug '41	500	27%	32%	41%
Sept-Oct '41	500	38%	25%	37%
Nov-Dec '41	500	54%	16%	30%
January,'41	500	66%	10%	24%

It is a long cry from the soldier with whose aid Hitler began his Eastern campaign to the German soldier of March, 1942. War weariness, disillusionment, desire to bring the war to an end, pessimism, lack of faith in victory, as well as lack of perspective and realization that Germany can never gain victory over the U. S. S. R.—all this is sapping the army's efficiency and undermining it from within.

The Red Army men, their equipment and fighting skill, make a stern impression on the German soldiers. The morale of the Red Army, its heroism, its steadfastness, its spirit of self-sacrifice, the offensive spirit of both men and commanders—this too is cause for despair among Hitler's would-be warriors. While occupying territory that does not belong to them, far removed from their own frontier, surrounded by hostility everywhere and subjected to blows by the Red Army and guerrillas, they are be-

ginning day by day to lose their faith in the security of their position and the might of their weapons.

Facts are accumulating to show that discipline in the German army is on the decline. Soldiers often enter into arguments with officers; cases of desertion are becoming more frequent, as are cases of men leaving their posts. Despite a categorical ban and stringent reprisals, soldiers continue to keep Soviet leaflets. Numerous orders to divisions and corps of the army specifically deal with this.

The German army has not yet fully lost its fighting capacity. It will resist furiously in an attempt to hold every position. But this is the resistance of despair. The German soldier still continues to fight, but his fighting spirit is substantially cracked. He is fighting with no hope of victory and no perspectives.

The Commander-in-Chief of the German 11th Army, General von Manstein, as early as the close of December, 1941, issued a special Order to his troops entitled "The Influence of Letters from Home and Soldiers' Conversations." Here is one passage from that document:

"In order to allay the nation, it is necessary to forecast the victorious termination of this war. Strengthening faith in victory is the prime task of every soldier. Any deterioration of this faith is a crime. Letters and reports containing information on Russian arms and Russian strength only lead to wide circles of our people entertaining some misgivings regarding the happy termination of the war. Particularly unfavorable for morale are letters from the front and stories brought back by men on furlough telling of war weariness and the low spirit of certain soldiers."

General von Manstein took care to enhance the morale of the population of Germany too. He is afraid lest the real position at the front become known at home. He expects every officer and soldier to keep up appearances even when things go bad. But what can be done if the sentiment of the German soldiers themselves is such as to suggest grave danger for the whole Hitler army?

Lance Corporal Rudolf Mester writes in a letter to his folks in Bremen—it should be added that Mester expresses the sentiments of numerous other soldiers of the German army—"It's all the same to us now, so long as we can escape from this hell. . . . Our nerves just won't stand it. The devil with this war!"

Meanwhile the mass of German soldiers still carry out the orders of their officers. But among the German soldiery there is already beginning a serious process of disintegration. Influenced by the mighty blows inflicted by the Red Army, the inner contradictions and antagonisms within this robber army have become more acute and are beginning to come to the surface.

The Nazi army is inexorably marching to its doom. The Red Army, in its offensive operations against the Nazi invaders, has made important achievements. Spring will bring the Red Army new victories and new achievements.

THE NEW STAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE CZECH PEOPLE

BY MILOS SKALA

IN THE twenty-seven months of German occupation since March 15, 1939, and up to Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the Czech people lived through many upheavals and trying ordeals. Soon after June 22 wide masses of the Czech people realized that Hitler had encountered a force which would break him. There began the memorable heroic resistance of the Red Army and the entire Soviet people to the invaders. With rapt attention the Czech people followed this titanic struggle and among them grew the conviction that the Soviet Union would score the ultimate victory and that Hitler Germany would be defeated and would collapse.

This faith in the triumph of the just cause defended by the Soviet people became a guiding star for the Czech nation in its struggle for liberation. The Soviet Union's just patriotic war, to a considerable extent, was also favorable to the Czechoslovakian people's cause.

An agreement was concluded between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. There came into being a coalition of democratic powers —the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States—against Hitler Germany. There was built up a powerful and solid anti-Hitler front of the peoples. This situation gradually cleared the atmosphere in the international arena of remnants of the Munich disease and brought Czechoslovakia into the coalition of the allied powers as a full-fledged state. On July 18, 1941, agreements of mutual assistance in the struggle against Hitler Germany and on the formation of Czechoslovak military units on Soviet territory were concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak government in London.

The British government, too, recognized the Czechoslovak government in London as legitimate and fully recognized the representative of Free Czechoslovakia. Close upon this followed similar recognition by the U.S.A.

The acts of violence which destroyed the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic and "legalized" its dismemberment were thus deprived of any validity before international law. Brought into active struggle, Czechoslovakia, with its military units abroad and primarily with millions of fighters for liberty from the Hitler yoke at home, took her place among the states waging war against the sinister fascist foe. All sections of the people and all political trends worked shoulder to shoulder in resisting the occupation. The new situation created the pre-

requisites for a joint struggle and for unity of the Czech people. At the decisive moment the Czech nation began to combine this unity with a general upsurge. Thus the Soviet Union's patriotic war against Hitler aggression has from the very outset led to a new stage in Czechoslovakia's struggle for freedom.

The first task of the Czech patriots in this gigantic struggle is to paralyze and destroy supplies and ammunition for Hitler's mechanized armies. From this point of view the Czech people are destined to play an important and highly responsible role.

In his historic speech of November 6, 1941, Stalin included Czechoslovakia among those Nazi-occupied countries of Europe whose war industry enabled Hitler to achieve numerical superiority in tanks and mechanical weapons of war. In the fascist war plans the Czechoslovak arsenal played and continues to play an extremely important part, for Czechoslovakia is the center of a powerful war industry. Czechoslovakia has large chemical plants producing explosives and gun powder, motor tires, gas masks, etc. According to calculations by German military experts published in the *Deutsche Wehr* following the occupation of Czechoslovakia, her war industries can well provide weapons and ammunition for 150 German divisions. Nor should it be forgotten that Hitler cannot dispense with Czechoslovakia's skilled labor power. The occupied Czech regions are of key importance to Hitler's war machine as vital transport centers.

Lastly, the Nazi-occupied areas in Czechoslovakia are of no small importance as a source of food supply. Czechoslovakia's grain yield sufficed to cover her pre-war needs. The Hitlerites have requisitioned all stocks prepared in the event of war and are now depriving the Czech peasants of every last morsel of food. The higher quality products of the extensive food industry in Czechoslovakia and Moravia are exported to Germany. Thus the Czech people are engaged in the struggle for their national liberation in the very heart of Europe, in a spot which is particularly vulnerable for the Hitlerites strategically and which represents the key arsenal supplying the Nazi mechanized hordes. Though the Czech people entered the decisive stage of the world war against Hitler Germany unarmed and without their own army, they maintained means enabling them to combat effectively the foe and contributed in no small share to the common cause of all freedom-loving peoples.

In the months since Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the Czech liberation movement has passed through several phases which in the main correspond to the chief stages of hostility at the Soviet-German front. The national liberation struggle prior to September, 1941, may be characterized as the period of gathering forces for resistance by the Czech people to Hitler's war against the U.S.S.R: the Czech people are unanimous in their support of the Soviet land and in their profound admiration for the heroism of the Red Army and the courage and steadfastness of the Soviet people.

Hitler, who tried to color his

predatory war as a "European crusade" at one time, began to recruit volunteers in all European countries, even among the population of the occupied lands and in neutral states. The Czechs and Serbs were the only exceptions. Hitler thus publicly admitted that the Czech people resist and are implacably hostile to the German invaders, and that they wholeheartedly support the Soviet Union. The Czech working class was the first to make Hitler's military machine feel the power and hatred of the people. The workers and employees of the Czech war industries did their utmost to sabotage and damage the war output. The mass campaign of popular sabotage assumed considerable dimensions, the output having dropped 40 per cent in July and August, 1941, as compared with preceding months.

Nonetheless, up to September, 1941, the resistance of the Czech people was mainly passive.

By September the collapse of the German blitzkrieg plan became apparent. The Nazi High Command was forced to dispatch fresh reinforcements to the Soviet front and constantly to withdraw division after division from the occupied lands. Every passing day made it clearer that the war would be a long one and would wear down Hitler Germany's forces. This served to inspire the Czech people with courage for action against the occupation forces. Two mass actions took place in September—a boycott of the coordinated Hitler press in Czechoslovakia and the "Go Slow Week." In two weeks of a press boycott the circulation of the Hitler-controlled papers in Czechoslovakia dropped substantially. The "Go Slow Week" mobilized workers and culminated in strikes and demonstrations. Workers retaliated to the Gestapo reprisals by strikes.

Strikes broke out at several important war plants in the latter part of September. These included the Poldy-Huttle plant at Kladno, producing special grade steels for armor plate and artillery, the huge Walter Aircraft Motor Works in Prague, and the Avia Mills near Prague. The demands advanced by the workers in these strikes included the demand for higher rations and discontinuance of food exports to Germany.

At Nachod and other towns there were demonstrations by women protesting against hunger rations. Factories and supply depots were set on fire in various parts of the country by intrepid men. The German press particularly stressed the important part played in this movement of active resistance by the Sokol Sports Organization. The Hitler papers were alarmed at the widespread sabotage campaign. Elusive Czech patriots threw sand and crushed glass into running parts of locomotives, railway cars and machinery. The Czech youth, "with evil intent," upset the functioning of industry and transport.

The beginning of October was marked by Hitler's desperate offensive on Moscow. The attack on Moscow was accompanied by an attack on the Czech people. The Hitlerites regarded no price too high if only they could ensure quiet in the rear, check the sabotage, and somehow make up for the depleted gar-

risons on the eve of "decisive" military operations and "purge" the rear.

On September 27, four days before Hitler's onslaught on Moscow, Heydrich, chief of the S.S. executioners, and one of Himmler's closest collaborators, arrived in Czechoslovakia. Immediately after he set foot in Prague, Heydrich announced that unrest, strikes and demonstrations had broken out and that this demanded the adoption of exceptional measures. A state of emergency was declared throughout the country and a state of siege in several districts. This bloodthirsty Hitler beast became the sole embodiment of "justice" on Czech soil, the almighty master of the fate and lives of the Czech people. Heydrich's appearance was followed by terror the like of which was never before witnessed in the history of the Czech people.

According to official German data some 500 Czech patriots were executed in the first three months of Heydrich's tyrannical rule. Thousands more were put to death in prisons and concentration camps. Simultaneously with the German High Command communiqués on the advance on Moscow there were daily communiqués of the bloody attack on the Czech people. The butcher Heydrich announced that he would make short shrift of the participants in the September events. But, with few exceptions, those executed were men and women who had for several months been prisoners and in no way connected with the September events.

This was the criminal murder of hostages, an unprecedented bloody vengeance on the Czech people. The Hitlerites wanted to frighten the people by rivers of blood and to compel them to abandon sabotage and resistance. Such was the political aim of this unrestrained terror. But Heydrich was up against genuine popular resistance. He had to snatch his victims from all sections of the population and from every political trend.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia lost hundreds of functionaries and rank-and-file members. Among those who found death at Hitler's scaffold was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and member of Parliament, Otto Sinek. Together with workers the Hitlerites executed two generals of the Czechoslovak Army, Joseph Bily and Hugo Voita. Sokol, Czechoslovakia's largest patriotic organization, was disbanded by Heydrich and lost its leader, Augustine Pechlat. Scores of workers, handicraftsmen, officers, Sokol members, students, merchants and small businessmen, conscientious and active champions of the cause of the Czech people, fell at the hands of Hitler's hangmen. Their blood flowed in one common stream, symbolizing, as it were, to the whole world the unity of the Czech people in its national liberation struggle.

The world saw pictures of the hideous crimes against a disarmed nation, the crimes of which the German imperialist gang are capable. At the same time the German occupation forces made short work of those Czech leaders who, for one reason or another, and for various motives, carried out under Presi-

dent Hacha's supervision the notorious "collaboration" policy.

Heydrich simply ordered the arrest of General Elias, the chairman of the "Czech Autonomous Government," whose members were appointed after the preliminary approval of Hitler's "protector." With the arrest of Elias this government was stripped of its last vestige of authority. Heydrich executed Doctor Frankenberg, leading official of the Ministry of Agriculture and one of the leaders of the former Czechoslovak Agrarian Party. Another to be shot was Doctor Klapka, whom the Hitlerites had appointed Mayor of Prague and who had been in a concentration camp since 1940.

By merciless destruction of the so-called Czech autonomous government, by ruthless punishment of the opportunist pro-German leaders in the Czech camp, Heydrich destroyed even that frail and shaky base the German invaders had set up in the early days of occupataion.

The clique of capitulators led by that traitor Hacha which had caused untold damage to the Czech people was all the more dangerous since besides open traitors it gathered around itself certain other sections and groups.

It should be remembered that one section of the big Czech bourgeoisie counted on finding a definite form of coexistence with German imperialism under the protection of Hitler as the gendarme of Europe. Other groups of the big bourgeoisie regarded "collaboration" as an opportunity for holding on until the struggle of great powers should weaken Hitler and bring on his defeat. All these calculations on the possibility of a protracted or even shortened "collaboration" between the Czechs and German invaders were, as the September days showed, to end in fiasco.

By execution of the opportunist Czech leaders Heydrich showed that the Hitlerites regard as Hacha's supporters only the 100 per cent traitors who had openly deserted to the enemy camp and become paid servitors of German fascism in the struggle against their own people. The Heydrich regime deprived the Czech people of whatever was left of the semblance of economic rights.

The Nazis' sanguinary campaign against the Czech people took place at the time when Hitler's armies had succeeded in nearing Moscow at the price of terrific losses. Reports of the Heydrich atrocities were accompanied by fanfare and special communiqués, by a fierce "psychological attack" on the Czech population. To the credit of the Czech people it must be said that the Hitler bandits failed to crush their will to resist. This may be seen from the fact that Heydrich, after only a few days in Czechoslovakia, was constrained to admit that strikes and demonstrations had not ceased but had only spread to new districts. On November 12, that is, six weeks after his arrival in Czechoslovakia, this Hitler executioner frankly admitted in an appeal to the population that sabotage was still going strong.

The turn of the tide which the Red Army won at the Soviet-German battlefronts created the prerequisites for a fresh upsurge of the national liberation struggle of

the Czech people and for its shift from the defensive to the offensive. The Czech people had already felt how the Soviet's Union's great patriotic war had shaken the Hitler domination. Heydrich and his band had to maneuver. In the early part of January Hacha, on Heydrich's orders, again appointed a so-called "protectorate" government. At the head it placed Kreici, who had won the favor of the Hitlerites for his part in the smash-up of the Elias government and who after the latter's arrest was the sole minister surviving the break-up of the former cabinet.

The mission of this new "government" was exposed by the very fact that the most important ministerial post went to Berc, a Reich German and chief of an S.S. detachment. He was appointed Minister of Economy. Even at the first glance it was clear that there could be no question of any sort of Czech government, for this so-called government was but a puppet in Heydrich's hands and made up of the most vile and corrupt elements in order that it might help hastily to repair Hitler's crippled war machine.

However, the undoubted fact that Heydrich, who in October began his ruthless punishment of Czech leaders, was compelled to maneuver, is a characteristic indication of the cleavage and progressive weakness of Hitler's system of enslavement and war, resulting from the heavy defeats suffered at the Soviet-German front. It is also an admission that in Prague Heydrich encountered the tenacious resistance of the Czechs. On the other hand, the highhandedness of the occupation authorities in dealings with the Czech people knows no bounds. That murderer Heydrich in one of his recent speeches announced that people would no longer be permitted to use the Czech language in public and economic life. Henceforth Czechs would be allowed to converse in their native tongue only in narrow family circles.

Righthand man Frank Henlein, former adjutant, became the official "interpreter" of Czech history. He simply "refuted" all Czech historians and announced for all to hear that the Czech people dare not dream of any other fate save that of obedient submission and labor.

The new stage in the Czech struggle for national liberation is fraught with stormy and sharp conflicts with the occupation forces. The important fact is that masses of the peasantry, the urban middle classes and groups of civil servants as well as more well-to-do sections of the population are more and more abandoning their former stand of "wait and see," overcoming hesitation and joining the national struggle. This wide national front which has been forged in Czechoslovakia in recent months is a guarantee of the success of the struggle.

The radical changes in the international and home situation could not but influence the development of the Czech anti-fascist movement abroad. After the Czechoslovakian government had concluded the agreements with the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A., and after Czechoslovakia joined the coalition of democracies, it was felt that the Czech movement abroad must re-

flect that unity which was so apparent in Czechoslovakia. Accordingly Czechoslovak Communists living abroad accepted President Benes' proposal of a joint Czechoslovak State Council. Thus the Czechoslovak State Council now contains representatives of the working class, which plays such an important role in the joint struggle of the whole Czech people. The new State Council gives greater prominence to representatives of the Slovak people as proof that the majority of the Slovak people do not follow traitors and capitulators, and as an indication of the future fraternal relations between the Czech and Slovak peoples, who will enjoy equal rights. The Sudeten German population is represented in the Czechoslovak State Council by Senator Karl Kreibich. Thus the Czechoslovak State Council in its new composition expresses the growing and strengthening Czechoslovak front of struggle against German fascism.

The Czechoslovak political representation abroad is but a symbol of the struggle now developing in the country, for the main front of struggle waged by the Czechoslovak peoples is on the home front. The authority and functions of the Czechoslovak government and all other organs of representation abroad will cease at the moment when the people win victory. The people themselves will determine the fate of their nation.

The first meeting of the newly established Czechoslovak State Council in London was addressed by President Benes, who stressed the importance of the Soviet Union for the Czech people's struggle for freedom. The Soviet Union, declared Dr. Benes, is fighting not only for itself but for all the peoples enslaved by Hitler fascism. The Czechoslovak Government in London declared war on all countries which are in a state of war with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U.S.A. Czechoslovakia has thus become a full partner in the anti-Hitler front of the allied countries.

However, there are signs of political and moral disintegration to be seen in certain emigré circles. Thus ex-Premier Hodja, known in the past for his contact with Hitler's agent Henlein, made several statements in the U.S.A. which were directed more against the U.S.S.R. than against Hitler Germany.

In London these were echoed by the former Social-Democratic leader and secretary of the trade unions Belina, who published an anti-Soviet memorandum drawn up by that old pro-Hitlerite, Grzesinsky.

The Czech people have already paid a heavy price for Hitler diversions in their ranks and no longer will they be misled by similar attempts, which directly or indirectly serve Hitler.

The patriotic war of the Soviet Union has demonstrated the interdependence of the struggle of the Soviet Union and the national liberation movement of the Czech people.

Hitler fascism has been dealt staggering blows at the Soviet-German front and for this the Czech people are profoundly grate-

ful to the Soviet Union. Never will they forget the historic part played by the fraternal Russian people in the struggle for Czech liberation from the Hitler yoke.

Stalin's historic speech on the Red Square on November 7, 1941, inspired a new and profound hope in the hearts of the Soviet people and the freedom-loving peoples of the world over. The Czech people, which were one of the first to fall under the fascist boot, have for nearly three years been suffering under the yoke of Hitler occupation. That is why they greeted Stalin's words with particular elation and regarded them as an appeal to exert every effort to accelerate the fall and destruction of Hitler Germany in concerted effort with other nations.

The Czech people and above all their progressive section understand fully that what they have so far accomplished in the struggle against Hitler fascism is inadequate. Experience shows that the damage caused war production by the "Go Slow Week" and petty sabotage was repaired by the occupation authorities by lengthening the working day. Experience shows that sabotage alone cannot halt the output of tanks, cannon and other arms. The Czech workers are already beginning to draw conclusions that more decisive methods must be employed against the German war machine. Thus, in the latter part of February, the electric power plant at the armaments mills in Brno was put out of commission, and the assembly shop blown up. This initiative will undoubtedly serve as an example for decisive action to stop all armaments production for Hitler. The Czech people, fighting for its independence, understands that it is time already to form combatant groups primarily from among the youth and soldiers of the former Czech army for guerrilla warfare and for disarming the Germans. The Czechs are alive to the necessity of forming ever larger armed detachments to fight the enslavers. Experience shows that guerrilla warfare is possible not only in the forests and hills but that with correct organization it can be fully successful in densely populated localities and large cities as well.

The Czech people will prepare for decisive clashes with the German invaders by strengthening their unity in the national liberation struggle and by establishing organizational centers for this struggle. Popular committees which proved so valuable in the struggle for independence in the First World War must now play an even greater role. An especially important place in the national liberation struggle belongs to the working class. In the factory and shop the workers are building up a system of illegal representatives, men who lead the struggle and give expression to the ideal of national unity.

The Czech people realize that the time has come when all their forces must be mustered to frustrate Hitler's last attempts at improving his position by a spring counter-offensive on the Soviet-German front, and that the day is not distant when they will be confronted with decisive battles for liberty.